

palestine perspectives

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There is Only One Peace Plan: Palestinian Freedom and Statehood

Every attempt to move conditions in the Middle East from their active disarray, and every effort to paraphrase a final core of meaning to the question of Palestine has always had one terminus: Palestinian national rights. This is the one historical imperative in the region that has, in a very vital and central way, determined the ebb and flow of political and historical life in the whole Middle East. And Palestinian rights are the issue that the Saudi 8-point peace plan attempts, in its own way, to deal with. The question is: can it do so.

This plan is already becoming celebrated more for the charges made against it than for the formulations it advances; but more than other peace plans before it, it touches on issues that are germane to justice. At a time when it has become, incredibly, not fashionable to say it, the plan is saying that Palestinian territory is Palestinian, Arab Jerusalem is Arab, Palestinian statehood is a historical imperative and the right of repatriation of Palestinians to their homeland, after 33 years of forced exile from it, is an inalienable right that must, and will, be enjoyed by Palestinians before anything resembling peace comes to the region.

In addition to all of that, the plan alludes to the right of states in the area to "live in peace." Some prefer to see in that allusion an implicit recognition of Israel. If that is so, and if that is what is truly intended in the 8-point peace plan, then the Palestinians categorically, emphatically and most unambiguously reject that allusion. The Palestinians will not and cannot recognize the right of Israel to a state in Palestine as long as Israeli statehood is conditioned, the way it is today conditioned, on Palestinian statelessness. In effect, the Palestinians can no more recognize and legitimize the Israel that exists in Palestine today anymore than the colonized can be expected to recognize colonialism, or the slave slavery, or the occupied occupation or the victimized victimization. The fact of the matter is that, as constituted today, Israeli existence represents a negation of Palestine and of Palestinian nationhood, as it does a threat to the security of the surrounding Arab countries. We need only think of the actuality of Israeli military occupation in the national territories of the Arab people, of

Israeli bombings and murders of civilians in Lebanon, and of Israeli practices against Palestinians and their land inside Palestine to resist any nation that the Arabs, let alone Palestinian Arabs, will "recognize" Israel.

Such are the complex conditions in Palestine today that should the Palestinians even want to "recognize" Israel they could not do so. Israel has so structured itself, and has so functioned as an entity in Palestine, that recognition of it by Palestinians is an abstraction. When posed to the Palestinians, the question, *will you recognize Israel?* is especially meaningless. Its meaninglessness stems from two concrete realities, territorial and political.

When Europeans, North Americans and others ask (at times urge) Palestinians to recognize Israel, what Israel are they talking about? Do they mean Israel with its 1947 borders? Israel with its 1948 borders? Israel with its 1967 borders? Or perhaps Israel with the borders envisioned for it by Menachem Begin and co. that include the whole of Jordan, southern Lebanon and national territories within Syria? It is obvious that the territorial component of a state is crucial to its statehood. With that undefined, the state itself is undefined. How could anyone recognize a state whose borders are yet to be defined? And if one persists, insisting that the Israel that the Palestinians are called upon to recognize is the Israel with the June 5, 1967 borders, then the Palestinians will retort that the question, for them, is still meaningless. For it is Israel, in the person of its leaders, that

stands committed, before its population and parliament, to *not recognizing* these borders as its final ones. Before Israel defines its borders, or has them defined for it by others, how can the Palestinians or any one else be expected to recognize it?

Letting aside the territorial issue, the political implications inherent in the question of Palestinian recognition of Israel make the question even more absurd. When Palestinians are asked to recognize Israel, are they asked also to recognize the political legal and constitutional institutions of Israel? Are they, for example, asked to recognize the law of Return, that says a Jew from New York or the Soviet Union can live permanently in Haifa of Jaffa but a Palestinian who was born there cannot even return there?

In this case, those who are urging Palestinians to recognize Israel are the ones who are being "unreasonable", not the other way around.

Has it occurred to those who pursue Palestinians with the litany *why don't you recognize Israel?* to turn around instead and ask Israelis *why don't you recognize Palestine?*

There is nothing strange or "unreasonable," nor ought there to be, about the fact that Palestinians will continue, forevermore, to refuse to recognize Israel so long as this entity defines its being in context of the continued subjugation of the Palestinians, and so long as it continues to seek to flourish under the tyranny and the patronage of violence.



Chairman Arafat at 1982 Celebrations



Chairman Arafat with American Black Delegation

(Excerpts from an interview with Chairman Yasser Arafat, by a delegation of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists, Beirut, September 4, 1981)

Chairman Arafat: Welcome. I am very glad to have this opportunity to meet you here. Your coming means a lot — that we are not alone, facing this huge barbaric and inhuman enemy. Our people are facing death through American decisions and American weapons. Some two months ago, Mr. Richard Allen said that the Israelis have the right of hot military pursuit. You have touched and seen the damage, the hell which our people are living as a result of the inhuman, savage Israeli attacks with unlimited American military support.

Q. It is a pleasure and an honor, on behalf of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists, to present the following resolution: A Statement of Solidarity — "The National Alliance of Third World Journalists stands in solidarity with the courageous struggle of the Palestinian people, and the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative. We reject and condemn the United States government's Middle East policy. We abhor the ongoing U.S. military, economic and diplomatic support of the barbaric aggressions of the Tel Aviv regime. More specifically, we agree that the tax dollars of working people in the U.S. were used to finance the tragic bombings in Beirut last July, while social programs in the United States suffered drastic cuts. Our struggles are inextricably linked, and our destinies intertwined. As journalists, we have a special responsibility to pursue and

bring the truth of the Palestinian struggle home to our people, despite the roadblocks of imperialism. We trust that this will be the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship as we struggle together against imperialism, Zionism, and racism."

A. Thank you. I now feel stronger, with my people, to face these barbaric attacks against my people. It gives us hope in the future, especially when we are facing this crucial period. Thank you from the depth of my heart.

Q. In the light of the tragic assassination of the French ambassador to Lebanon do you have any idea where responsibility for this crime lies, and what effect do you think it will have on the situation in Lebanon?

A. First of all, I have no idea about this crime. But we will definitely do our best to help the Lebanese authorities to find the criminals. The French ambassador, Mr. Louis de l'Amar was a dear friend. I and my people lost a very dear friend. He worked hard to strengthen the relations between the PLO and the French government. Today I sent my condolences to his excellency, President Mitterand.

Q. An article in *Afrique-Asie* states that a group of high-level Egyptian army officers sent a letter to Sadat, respectfully protesting the bombing of Beirut while the Egyptians and Israelis were signing the Sinai peacekeeping forces agreement. Do you think that Sadat's army may ultimately turn on him?

A. Don't forget you are speaking to one of these Egyptian officers. I was in the Egyptian army and I fought in the first Suez Canal war, so I know the Egyptian army

very well. Despite of all that is going on in Egypt, all that happened during this conspiracy of Camp David, I am sure that the Egyptian army will not leave the Palestinians to face the conspiracy and tragedy alone for a long time. We have to remember that the Egyptian people fought from 1948 to 1973, with 86,000 casualties — martyrs and wounded — to defend the just cause of the Palestinian people and the Arab cause. In Egypt there are about 4,000 towns. This means that on average every Egyptian town had approximately 22 casualties. They have fought to defend the just cause of the Palestinian people and to defend our cause. When Sadat opened the Israeli embassy and they raised the Israeli flag, the Egyptians themselves raised one million Palestinian flags. The Egyptian army is a part of this heroic people of Egypt.

Q. The present occupant of the White House says that the Soviet Union is "the greatest threat to world peace today." You are the leader of an extraordinary revolution. What is your view on the greatest threat to world peace today?

A. When Haig came to this area, he tried to convince the leaders of this area that the Soviet Union's "presence" is a danger. He discovered that it wasn't true, at least for most of the leaders and for all the peoples of this area. When the Islamic Conference was held in Taif, Saudi Arabia, the issue was to be Afghanistan and the Soviet Union in the area. But what were the results? The whole conference changed when we attended. Even its name changed and they called it the Islamic Summit Conference on Jerusalem and Palestine. And in this conference we had four resolutions against American policy in the Middle East. Mr. Haig saw when he arrived here and made his tour that the only danger which the area is facing is the Zionist aim to build their empire in this area. More expansion and their continuous aggressions in one month attacked two Arab capitals, the Israeli military junta — Baghdad and Beirut. And all the Arabs remember Begin's arrogant statement after the raid against the Baghdad nuclear center, "this is a signal that we have the ability not only to destroy this nuclear center, but to control the whole area, and we have the upper hand and the longest hand, even to control the sources of oil." It is a warning to all the Arab nations. Mr. Haig discovered these realities and facts when he came to this area.

Q. Could you give us details about your assistance to the Lebanese Patriotic Movement?

A. We have a strategic relationship with them. We have a joint political leadership, a
(Continued on page 8)

Palestinian Struggle for Freedom



Arab-American Congress

Statement of PLO representative to first Arab American Congress in Washington, D.C.

On July 17, 1981 American-made Israeli warplanes bombed the capital of Lebanon, Beirut, and killed more than 300 innocent Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. The pictures of this genocidal crime, of torn and wounded children, men and women were not shown by the American media.

During that criminal raid, a pregnant Palestinian mother was torn apart by an Israeli missile. Her infant, still alive in her belly, was removed from the dead mother. The doctors at the Palestinian hospital saved the female baby and named her Palestine. This horrible but real symbolism

is clear; out of death and agony, baby Palestine was born, a testimony to the determination of the Palestinian people to survive and live despite death.

Ironically, these pictures of wounded children were brought to the U.S. by an American who saw the massive bombing with his own eyes. He prepared the exhibit to tell his people of the Israeli American crime. So, while the American Government continues to supply Israel with the most modern weapons of death, one American brought back to the U.S. these pictures of innocent victims in an attempt to awaken the American conscience.

Why does the American media grieve over the death of one man, Sadat, and not

over the death of hundreds of our children? Why does the media mourn the death of Sadat, and not mourn the death of thousands of innocent Lebanese and Palestinians?

The Palestinian people go through a journey of agony and suffering from birth to death. When a Palestinian child is born, he cannot have a birth certificate. When he grows up, he has no passport to travel. He cannot seek education and employment. When a Palestinian dies, he has no place to be buried in; he cannot be buried in the land of his ancestors and forefathers, Palestine.

For the last 35 years, the Palestinians have lived in exile in refugee camps. A whole generation was born in exile, living without

any dignity or honor. How would you feel if you were born in a refugee camp, living there without any rights, looking across the border and seeing your village and house, yet unable to return to your own land and property?

What would you do? You would do what the young Palestinian woman, Dalal Moughrabi did. Seventeen years old, born in a refugee camp, she picked up her gun and crossed into her country Palestine and died there in dignity rather than living in disgrace as a refugee. She gave her life and blood for her country. She lives forever in the memory of her people.

We wish our Palestinian children to live in peace, to enjoy music and dancing, to play like all other children in playgrounds. But they are denied normal life. They live under daily Israeli bombing and attacks. So they have to learn how to survive, and how to use anti-aircraft guns to protect their refugee camps.

In the Rashidiya refugee camp in South Lebanon, Palestinian children live with cluster bombs, napalm and missiles poured on the camp by the Israeli army. The children see European and American journalists visiting their camp and they raise their hands with the victory sign. The Rashidiya camp and its story is not well known in the Arab world. Very few Arab journalists visit it. When a group of Arab journalists visited, Palestinian children raised their hands with the victory sign and said "hello" thinking the visitors were foreigners.

Our Palestinian children and our people

in South Lebanon have become an experimental field for modern American weapons: guided missiles, 2000 ton bombs, napalm and cluster bombs and so on. Yet they survive and remain in South Lebanon and in Rashidiya camp, because it is close to their homeland, Palestine, and because they are determined to remain steadfast and strong. They will not run anymore. They rebuild their destroyed refugee homes, bury their dead and remain in Rashidiya, defying Israel and all the American military power.

In occupied Palestine, the Israeli army shoots Palestinian school children. In Nablus, the Israeli soldiers followed a sixteen year old girl, Lina Nablusi, to her home and shot her right in front of her door. Another school girl, Muntaha Hourani was shot by Israeli soldiers in Ramallah. Two Palestinian Mayors, Karim Khalaf of Ramallah, and Bassam Shaka of Nablus, lost their legs as a result of car bombings by Israeli agents. Yet without legs, they remain strong and defiant on their land, rooted deep in the support of the Palestinian people. They represent the determination of the Palestinians to defy Israeli terrorism and persecution, and continue the struggle for freedom and liberation.

Reverend Ibrahim Ayad is from Bethlehem. Yet he cannot return and live in his holy city. He was even denied the right to attend his mother's funeral in Bethlehem by the Israeli authorities to attend his mother's funeral in Bethlehem. I myself cannot travel to Jerusalem my city and see my own old father. And many other Palestinians cannot visit their towns and

villages in Palestine and see their own relatives and loved ones. Yet we meet here, Palestinians from different parts of the American exile, young and old, we reunite surrounded by the pictures of our wounded children and injured people in Lebanon.

Despite the exile, the pain and agony we met to express our determination to return to our homeland, Palestine. Because as our leader Chairman Yasser Arafat says: "The Palestinians are like a mountain, unmoved by the storms and wind". The Palestinians are a strong people. When a Palestinian mother loses a son who is martyred in Palestine she sings songs and sends her younger son to join the freedom fighters. The Palestinian people are strong, and that is why they will win, they will return to their homeland, Palestine.

Through armed struggle, through a long people's war, and with the great will of our Palestinian freedom fighters, Palestine will be liberated. Those heroic freedom fighters who today stand on Beaufort Castle, Salah El-Din's Castle, in South Lebanon, will follow his steps and return victoriously to Palestine. The Palestinian revolution today is the vanguard of Arab struggle. It is fighting today in the name of all the Arab people's, defending their honor and dignity. That is why we call on the Arab states to open their borders to Palestinian fedayeen, to allow them to cross into occupied Palestine, so that they can fight Zionism and defeat Israeli militarism.

For the Palestinians, it is better to die fighting on their land than living in exile in humiliation.

AAUG Convention Condemns Israel

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates ended its fourteenth annual convention in Houston, Texas by adopting a number of important resolutions. The AAUG "condemns Israel's calculated and merciless attacks on Lebanon and its people and Israel's frenzied military economic and political efforts to dismember and subordinate Lebanon to Israel's hegemony. The AAUG stands in solidarity with the heroic Arab resistance to Israel in Lebanon, spearheaded by the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestine Liberation Organization and supported by the steadfast Arab States."

The Association therefore "salutes the national opposition in Egypt for its courageous resistance" to the Egyptian policies, and for its "total rejection of all Camp David Agreements and calls upon all governments and people committed to national liberation to render all possible assistance to the Egyptian National Movement."

The AAUG reaffirms "unconditional fulfillment of the national right of the

Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to return, to independence and sovereignty in Palestine and to their right to be represented by their sole, legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and calls upon all states, including the United States, to unconditionally recognize the PLO as such."

The AAUG condemns the Israeli occupations massive violation of Palestinian rights, in particular, Israel's continued and escalating confiscation of Palestinian land throughout all of Palestine.

The AAUG affirms its solidarity with the Palestinians under Israeli military rule who unequivocally reject so-called "autonomy" in all its forms as a continuation and legitimization of the occupation by another name, and in particular are now struggling against the institution of Israeli civilian administrators into the military government.

The AAUG condemns the Israeli policy of repressing Palestinian national, economic, social and educational institutions, including

the closure of Bir Zeit University, and calls upon all those concerned with human rights and academic freedom to join in a campaign to re-open Bir Zeit University.

The AAUG calls for the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations, convinced that this will immeasurably facilitate the process of peacemaking in the region.

The AAUG calls for more constructive measures by the non-aligned movement to bring about an honorable end to the conflict.

Lebanon's ex-Prime Minister, Salim Al-Hus delivered a keynote address in which he stressed the need to continue efforts to achieve reconciliation in Lebanon's Arab identity, its independence and unity. He praised the role of the Lebanese National Movement and the Palestine Liberation Organization and condemned the continuance of Israeli attacks and aggressions, and the Israeli support for the Phalangist party that played a role in instigating the civil war and destroying Lebanon's unity and independence.

Dear Friends,

The American Committee for Human Rights in Egypt was formed last September out of concern over the suppression of human rights in Egypt, particularly in view of our government's support of the oppressive Egyptian regime. Indeed, the recent violence which led to President Sadat's death is testimony to the contention that deteriorating conditions of social justice and blockage of democratic channels of expression promote violence. Recent events prove earlier indications that the Egyptian regime faced, and continues to face increasing opposition to its domestic and foreign policies.

Repression in Egypt did not end with Sadat's death. His successor has not released the thousands who were arrested by order of Sadat; he has ordered further mass arrests. Political detainees include well-known journalists such as Mohammed Hasanin Heikal, former ministers, scholars and head of the Association of Human Rights Advocates, the feminist Nawal El-Saadawi, and lawyers (among them the former head of the Bar Association). The newspapers closed down remain out of circulation while the 67 broadcasters and journalists and the 64 professors ousted in early September are still barred from their posts.

We view with great alarm President Mubarak's continuation of undemocratic practices including mass arrests, the declaration of a state of emergency for one year, and the expulsion of Egyptians from their posts without charges. We call for the release of political prisoners, development of a free press, and safeguarding of academic freedoms. Democracy in Egypt will minimize violence.

While suppression of human rights anywhere is a legitimate concern of all people, we as Americans have a particular responsibility in this regard since our government is a primary supporter of the Egyptian regime. We should be doubly concerned now that the ominous step of committing American troops to Egypt has been taken. We are especially disturbed at statements of the Reagan Administration that the United States assumes the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt.

At a time when human services in this country are being cut to the bone, our government continues to support the unpopular Egyptian regime with economic and military aid in excess of \$8 billion (since 1975). While the regime's small circle of supporters benefits from U.S. aid, the numbers of poor Egyptians grow daily while their rights decrease.

Egyptian People's Appeal

We ask the support of all American people by:

1. contributing funds to support a delegation of prominent Americans who will visit Egypt and report on the situation;
2. protesting the obvious violations of human rights by writing to the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, D.C., the American State Department, and President Mubarak.

Please send contributions and copies of letters of protest to the Committee. Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Masterson
Chairperson
American Committee for
Human Rights in Egypt



A *Monday Morning* interview with the Palestinian who is fighting for his life in a Chicago prison

IF AMERICA EXTRADITES ME...

Ziad Abu Eain, waiting for the decision of Secretary Haig, says the U.S. will 'suffer the consequences' if it decides to extradite him, because this time the Arabs will not turn the other cheek

By Ghassan Beshara

Ziad Abu Eain, a 22-year-old Palestinian held in a Chicago prison for the past two years, has warned that the U.S. would "suffer the consequences" if Secretary of State Alexander Haig decided to extradite him to Israel.

In a private interview in his Chicago jail, Abu Eain told *Monday Morning* that the U.S. had come to

believe that "the Arabs will always turn the other cheek," but this time the U.S. would be wrong to believe this.

"My people will not stand for another slap," he said.

Abu Eain, a Jordanian citizen from the town of Ramallah, West Bank, was visiting his sister in Chicago in August, 1979, when he was arrested on the strength of an Israeli accusation that he had planted a bomb in Tiberias on May 14, 1979, causing the death of two



Ghassan Bishara (right) with Ziad Abu Eain

people and the injury of 36.

In two years of court battles, Abu Eain's defense attorneys have presented evidence of his innocence, which has been rejected by U.S. courts, and attempted to block his extradition by pointing out that the crime of which he was accused is political and therefore not covered by the 1962 U.S.-Israeli extradition treaty. That argument has also been rejected by U.S. courts, and Abu Eain's extradition to Israel was supported in October of this year by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The decision now rests with Secretary of State Haig, who has until December 13 to endorse or reject the courts' decision.

If he decides to extradite Abu Eain, Secretary Haig will set what many Arabs, including Abu Eain, regard

as a dangerous precedent.

As Abu Eain put it to me, "It's true that the U.S. supplies Israel with money and weapons, but this will be the first time that the U.S. has involved itself in a case like mine, directly challenging the Palestinian and Arab people. And with regard to the fact that I am a Jordanian citizen, the U.S. will be proving that in any dispute which involves Israel, it is not neutral and is ready to defy international law and human rights. By extraditing me to Israel, the U.S. will be trying to intimidate all of our people and may set a precedent against other Arabs in the U.S."

In addition, he said, an extradition decision would be tantamount to "recognition by the U.S. that Israel occupies our land legitimately."

A U.S. extradition order would mean U.S. recognition that Israel is occupying our land legally

Abu Eain believes that the involvement of the U.N. and a number of governments, including Arab governments, in his case gives him a chance to beat the extradition order, but that chance, he says, is very small.

In view of the "U.S. treatment of the Palestinian issue" so far, he told me, "the chances of my extradition are high."

This was especially true, he said, because the decision was now in the hands of the State Department "and it was State Department involvement in the first place that was the cause of my imprisonment."

This was a reference to State Department involvement in the court case against Abu Eain. The Department's legal advisor, Louis G. Fields, was primarily responsible for the courts' rejection of Abu Eain's argument that the crime of which he was accused was political and therefore not subject to the U.S.-Israeli extradition treaty. Fields testified in support of the prosecutor's claim that the act Abu Eain was accused of committing was "a criminal rather than a political act." Fields later explained to me: "It has been our view that an act... that results in the murder of innocent people cannot be considered a political act."

This attitude has been seen by Abu Eain's defense counsel as inconsistent with the ruling on the "McMullen Case," in which a British extradition request for a Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) activist on a charge of planting a bomb in London was turned down by a San Francisco court. That request was rejected on the grounds that the offense was of a "political character."

Abu Eain's defense counsel resorted to the McMullen case and the political angle only after the evidence submitted to prove the Palestinian youth's innocence of the Israeli charge was rejected by the U.S. courts.

PROOF

"I did not take part in the Tiberias operation, nor did I have any knowledge of it," Abu Eain told me. "I have proof that I was in Ramallah, 220 kilometers away, the day the bomb exploded in Tiberias. I had



helped my sister-in-law in the hospital that day, and there are 14 witnesses to attest to my presence in Ramallah throughout the day...

"Israel is trying to say that I 'escaped' from the West Bank. The fact is that when I applied for a visa at the U.S. consulate, it was given to me only after I secured a 'certificate of good behavior' from the Israeli government and the military governor of the West Bank. Both the U.S. and Israel knew that I was going to Chicago in response to my sister's telegram on May 25 which asked me to come because of family problems and illness. It was on the strength of this telegram that the consulate gave me a visa.

"If I had wanted to run because of anything I had done, I wouldn't have come to the U.S. — the U.S. and

I did not plant the bomb in Tiberias, and I can prove it, but it is impossible to expect justice from Israel, which considers every Palestinian a terrorist

Israel are one and the same — but I would have gone to an Arab country, and I certainly wouldn't have told them where I was going."

Israel's extradition request is supported by one document — a confession written in Hebrew and signed, in Arabic, by Jamal Yassin.

Yassin, who is said not to know any Hebrew, was arrested on June 26, 1979 — a month after the Tiberias bombing — and the alleged confession was written on July 13, naming Abu Eain as one of the people involved in that incident.

Since then, Yassin has retracted the confession in two sworn affidavits witnessed by two lawyers, but his denials have failed to convince the U.S. courts that there is insufficient evidence for extradition.

"Jamal is a friend, a good friend," Abu Eain said. "His confession was not valid in the first place because it was given under duress. I think Jamal mentioned my name because he knew I was in the U.S. — everybody knew it — and he thought Israel couldn't get me there..."

"They wanted to know more about the Tiberias operation, and they believed Jamal had a part in it. So after harsh interrogation and torture, and because he thought I was safe outside the West Bank, Jamal gave them my name. He himself has said so."

Israel, Abu Eain said, was probably fully aware of his innocence but was determined to have him extradited for two reasons: because it wanted to intimidate the Palestinian nationalists abroad, and because it did not want to lose the extradition case, which had become an Arab-Israeli battle in the United States.

NATIONALIST

Abu Eain's description of himself as a Palestinian nationalist is not inaccurate, judging by his past

activities and present views.

He told me he had taken part in West Bank demonstrations and other "legal anti-occupation student activities," and had been arrested for those activities in 1977, when he was also accused of "establishing a student organization."

His present views as he expressed them to me:

On the PLO: "The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of our Palestinian people. It is the choice of our people that the PLO represent us and be the future framework of a Palestinian state, and we will accept no substitute for the PLO."

On the solution of the Palestinian problem: "The solution must include the granting of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of a Palestinian state. I would prefer a democratic state in (all the land of) Palestine, but we know that the PLO and the people are willing to establish a state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. I look forward to peaceful coexistence in the region, conditional, of course, upon the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination."

On the Camp David agreements and Anwar Sadat: "Camp David naturally created Arab hostility towards Sadat, who denied Egypt its natural Arab role... The Egyptian people could not accept Sadat's dictatorial role in imposing an unjust solution to the most important Arab issue, the Palestinian question. Had it not been for his crackdown on the Egyptian opposition from the very beginning, the Camp David accords would not have lasted very long. I hope the new President, (Hosni) Mubarak, will pursue a just and comprehensive peace... I also hope he will return to the Arab fold, which, united, will achieve a just peace in our area, which must include the PLO, for no peace can last unless it is achieved with the PLO."

My extradition would be a dangerous precedent against every Palestinian in the West







17th Anniversary of Palestinian Revolution

احتفالات الذكرى السابعة عشر
لانطلاقة الثورة الفلسطينية



The decision to extradite me is in the hands of the State Department theoretically, but in fact it is in the hands of the Arabs

On Jews and Zionists: "I have a great deal of love for the Jewish people, who have suffered throughout history, mistreated and persecuted in Europe and elsewhere. As a Palestinian, I would be willing to fight for all peoples' freedom and integrity. However, I am against Zionism's use of Judaism as a means to its political aims. Religion should not be confused with rigid political ideologies, and I am aware that there are many Jews who are opposed to Zionism."

Abu Eain's views on these and other issues have caused him problems in the Chicago prison, where he is the only Arab inmate.

"I have had some problems with other prisoners due to our differences," he said. "More than once I was placed in solitary confinement. I was forbidden visits for three or four months, and my mail was held for about a year."

He added: "When I was first imprisoned I neither spoke nor understood any English. It was hard for me. I faced some racism against me here, but I learned to deal with that. I'm proud to say it has not scared me."

ARABS

Abu Eain firmly believes that his case is not a personal one but a case of the Arabs versus Israel and the U.S.

"The Israeli and American challenge to me is also a challenge to the Arab people. They are trying to demoralize us, and we must all stand up to these attacks."

A number of Arab governments, he said, had tried to help him. "I can't really deny their efforts to secure my freedom, but will these efforts stop my extradition to Israel? Had there been a serious and intense effort against my extradition as there was for it, I think we would have won..."

"I thank all the Arab governments that have taken part in my defense, but I think more could have been

done for me and for the Palestinian cause had we used our resources more efficiently..."

"Theoretically, the decision to extradite me is in the hands of the U.S. State Department, but in fact, that decision is in the hands of the Arabs."

The decision, Abu Eain said, "is a matter of life or death to me. Imprisonment in Israel would mean death to me, and an end to all my hopes for the future..."

"Yes, I know Israel is supposed to have promised the U.S. that I will be tried in a civil court and that no more charges will be brought against me than the charges that have already been made. But it is impossible for me to expect justice from Israel, which considers every Palestinian a terrorist who deserves to be treated as such. Look at the way our people are being treated in the occupied territories — confiscation of land, closure of universities, torture, deportation and worse. How can we expect justice?"

Justice from Israel "is impossible," Abu Eain said, although "Ramsey Clark has shown an interest in defending me there, and Abdeen Jabara (Abu Eain's chief defense counsel in the U.S.) has discussed the possibility of my defense with Israeli lawyers and others."

As far as he was concerned, an extradition decision would be a death sentence, "but that does not mean that I am very concerned. I know I am innocent of the charges against me. I feel no guilt whatsoever, because I know I have not hurt anybody. I have decided to stand up against the American and Israeli conspiracies against me and the Palestinian people, and that decision is stronger than any worries I have about my future. I feel my people have entrusted me with the responsibility to survive, and I will bear that responsibility."

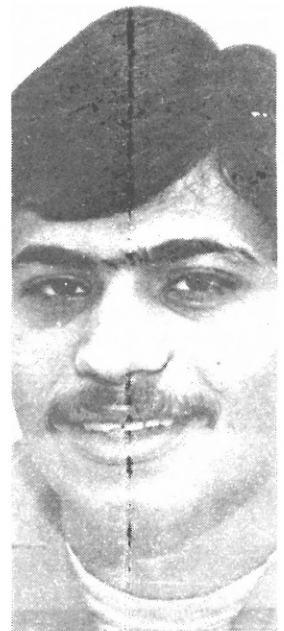
"My people, the Palestinians, have sacrificed and continue to sacrifice. As one of them, I am simply paying my dues."●

An extradition decision would be a death sentence, but I am ready to pay my dues with the rest of my people

United States Extradites Ziad Abu Eain to Israel

On Saturday evening, December 12, the United States government handed Ziad Abu Eain over to five Israeli agents in New York City. U.S. officials did not notify Ziad Abu Eain's lawyers or the Arab Ambassadors. Ziad was handcuffed and wearing prison clothes. He was pulled by his hair, slapped and threatened by the Israeli agents and arrived in Israel on an El Al plane with bruises on his hands and body, according to his Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer. He was immediately transferred to a prison in Jerusalem.

Many American, Arab-American and Palestinian organizations have protested the U.S. decision to extradite Ziad Abu Eain to his Israeli military occupiers. We therefore appeal to all American individuals and organizations to demand Ziad's immediate release and to send letters to the U.S. Secretary of State and the United Nations Secretary General protesting this gross U.S. violation of Ziad Abu Eain's human and civil rights.



A Letter To My Daughter

A Letter to My Daughter

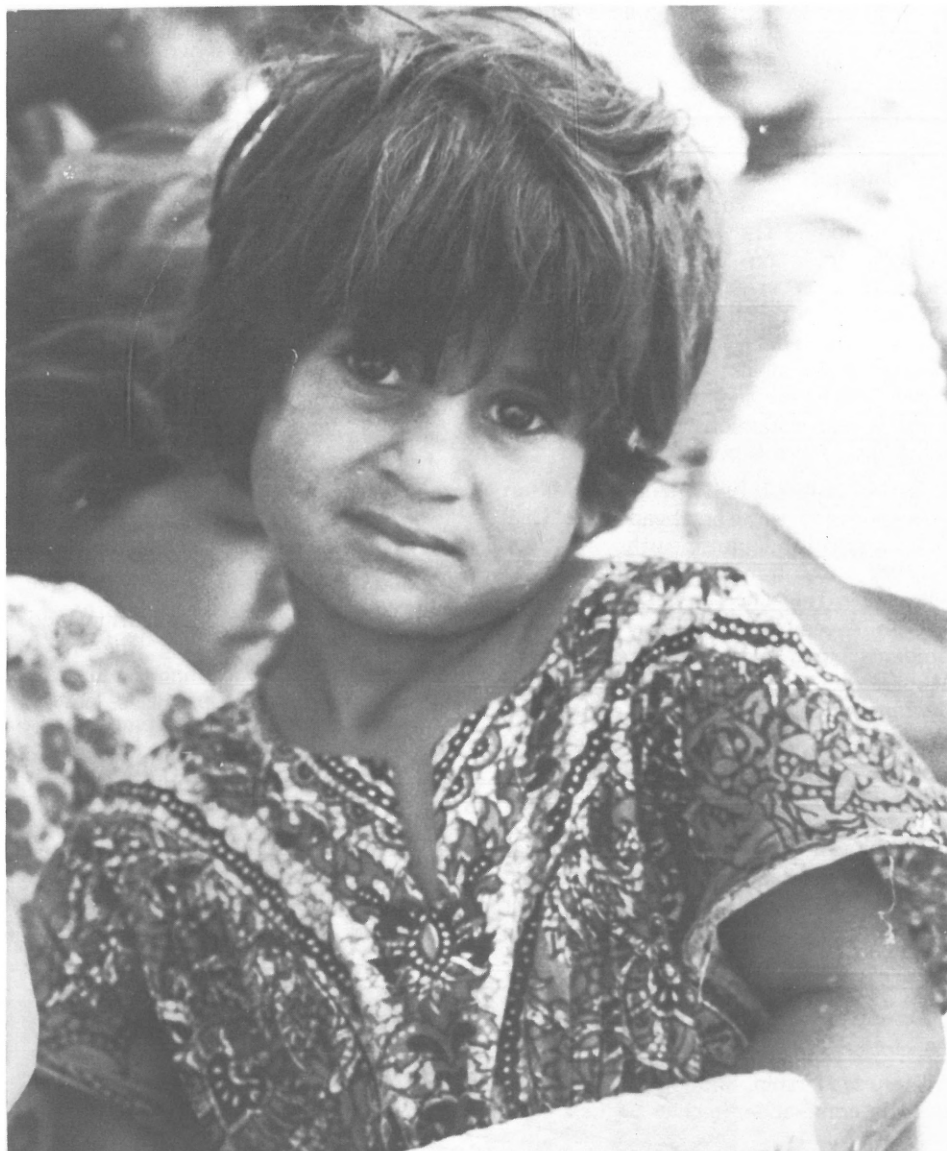
Do not say, daughter, damn my mother for she has abandoned me and bowed down to the whims of a foreigner. Do not accuse me of infidelity or of cowardice ... Bear patience with me, child, for I was ignorant, ignorant of your needs, and blind, utterly blind to the conspiracy. But, more than anything else, child, I was trusting. I never thought that their cries would drown my cries for justice. I never believed that the world could be so insensitive.

Let me begin from the beginning, as I have often promised you to do. I was born under a stone Palestinian roof, the Mount of Olives was my childish playground, the Via Delorosa was my daily road to school, the cobbled stones of the Old City echoed my skipping, I heard my first childish tales under the trees of the Haram. The Virgin Mary was my idol and my dreams stretched over the Domes and minarets of Jerusalem. My life was ordered and orderly.

Once in Jerusalem, there was an invasion of locusts. The sky was black with them; they symbolized evil; they threatened our security. The nuns asked us to spend the day chasing them away. All of us children, Christians, Moslems and Jews, spent two days chasing locusts. But then the day after, the greenery was gone, the trees were bare and grim, our countryside was ravaged. We cried. But then for the next three years we became used to crying. We heard bombs, and bullets and funeral music. The adults looked worried, and smiled less and less. We children did not know it, but the other invasion had come. They told us the invaders meant no ill, they had come to flee from European persecution. We were hospitable as in the past. But then, they did not come in peace, child, their leaders had other plans for *them* and us. We were to be chased away.

I have often described to you the last time I saw Jerusalem, and I have answered many of your childish questions about the things we left behind: home, toys, pets. We left in a hurry that bright May morning and the key, the key to our house in Jerusalem, you can still find that key in your grandmother's old brown purse.

Patience, child, do not call us cowards. We were willing to share and quite unprepared for the confrontation.



And now child when they teach you history and geography in your English and American textbooks, they talk of Israel and not of Palestine; even the map of Palestine has changed. Now they tell you Jerusalem is the Jewish capital, but never forget that your great grandfather's graves are in Jerusalem.

Palestinian children, your age, my child, are playing in the mud; tents are their homes, and planes dropping bombs are daily visitors.

If I leave you a legacy, child, it is not revenge. In this I do not believe. You and your Palestinian friend are to recreate yourselves. Whether you succeed in liberating an inch of Palestine or don't is not

the issue. First and foremost liberate yourself, liberate yourself from tutelage in any form and shape. you shall be left alone for a while, demand it, it is your right. Raise your voice and say: "I want to live with my fellow Jews, who are now in Israel, in one secular, democratic state where we can all share the bounties of Palestine; where we can all work and worship in freedom as equal citizens enjoying equal rights."

Don't die for Palestine, child, but live for the future Palestinians. Help them defeat the spirit of defeatism.

Randa Khalidi El-Fattal

An Appeal From Bir Zeit University

On November 4, 1981, the Israeli Military authorities closed Birzeit University. The following are excerpts from a statement by the trustees, administration, faculty, staff and students of Birzeit.

Once again, this university has been singled out for collective punishment as part of a larger political scheme to deny the Palestinian population its right to self determination. The military occupation recently took on the guise of "Civil Administration" in an attempt to impose on the Occupied Territories the "autonomy" plan which has been rejected unequivocally by the Palestinians. The escalation of military violence and oppression against civilians and institutions in the area is an integral part of this policy.

On November 1, 1981, Menachem Milson was appointed as the first head of the "Civil Administration," and authority over "security" was transferred to the Defense Ministry in Tel Aviv.

On November 2, Birzeit University students joined Palestinians throughout the West Bank to express their rejection of the "autonomy" plan and Milson's assumption of duties. The Israeli army brutally confronted the students, using tear gas, clubs and bullets, and subsequently arrested 13 students on their way home.

On November 3, at 10:00 p.m. 13 Israeli military vehicles invaded the town of Birzeit with a full show of force, firing their weapons, setting off flares, causing damage

to University premises and houses and provoking the students and the population by creating an atmosphere of alarm and panic.

On November 4, Birzeit University students organized a peaceful march protesting the arrests and denouncing the army's terror tactics of the night before. The march was broken up by the army using tear gas, bullets, and physical force. At 11:30 a.m. the army surrounded the University and set up several roadblocks in and around the town. At 12:15 p.m. the Military Governor informed University Vice President Gabi Baramki of an order to close down the University until further notice. A two hour deadline was given for the total evacuation of all University premises.

As a result of negotiations the deadline was extended several times under constant threat from the Military Governor to break in and evacuate the University by force.

At 6:15 p.m. a Supreme Court injunction was obtained preventing the military authorities from evacuating the University or using force on the premises. However, the military did break in and proceeded to harass the faculty members and administrators and beat up a Finnish radio reporter.

The army then reinforced their presence inside the University and physically evicted faculty and staff members, using further threats of force against the students who

were in the dining hall. At 7:00 p.m. the students began to leave the premises under pressure.

We protest these measures of collective punishment and assault on academic freedom by the Israeli Military Authorities. These measures are further concrete indications of the Israeli attempt to destroy the Palestinian identity and institutions in the Occupied Territories.

We strongly denounce the closure of Birzeit University and appeal to all concerned individuals and groups to join us actively in reopening the University immediately. We urge you to show your solidarity by:

1. sending your cables and/or letters to
General Ariel Sharon
Ministry of Defense
Tel-Aviv, Israel.
(please send copies to Birzeit University)
2. requesting your government agencies to urge the Israeli authorities to reopen the University.
3. contacting your local press
4. organizing various activities such as support rallies and meetings in your area.

Birzeit University
Board of Trustees, Administration, Faculty,
Staff & Students.

(Arafat continued from page 3)

military leadership, and joint forces, and I am the commander-in-chief of these joint forces.

Q. In the past few weeks, particularly since the vicious bombing of Beirut, there have been statements by former administration officials in the U.S. and even some advisors, that the U.S. was going to have to sit down and negotiate with the PLO before any sort of settlement could be made in the Middle East. Have you had any indication that the U.S. will consider doing that in the near future?

A. I am sorry to say no. The American administration is neglecting the main, or the crux of the whole issue of the Middle East crisis — the Palestinians, the PLO, and Palestinian rights. It is very important for everybody to know that no peace, no solution, no security, no settlement can be reached by jumping over Palestinian rights,

including our right to return back to our homeland. As you know, 60 percent of my people are living as refugees, in the diaspora. We must implement our right to self-determination, and our right to establish our independent state. We are asking for international law to be implemented, but by neglecting the Palestinians, the United States is neglecting international law. It insists on opposing international law, UN resolutions, and the UN charter.

Q. Do you think that there is a possibility that these statements are an effort by officials to ...

A. I didn't hear about these official statements. There are some political statements, to be used here or there, but there is no concrete substance, to offer to me, or to my people, to us in the PLO.

Q. Begin is due in the US. We have the opportunity as he arrives in the States to

give the American people your feeling on this visit. We'd like to get your feelings to tell the American people.

A. First of all, I want to ask the American people: for how long will you accept giving weapons to kill the Palestinian people? And for how long will the Palestinian people suffer from the limitless flow of weapons to Israel? We have to remember that the weapons which are killing our people — our women, children and our men — are paid for by the American taxpayer. And I just want to remind you of an article written by George Ball, former Undersecretary of State, that every Israeli citizen costs, or receives from the American budget, daily, seven and a half dollars. This was written almost seven years ago, so you can imagine the increase on money with the high inflation rate. I also want to remind you that President Carter gave figures about this aid.

He admitted that in two and a half years of his administration he gave Israel almost \$11.5 billion. This is direct financial help, not including other indirect help — donations, loans, military aid. Now President Reagan is trying to cut the budget by cutting some socio-economic programs.

It's my right to tell the American people, that the Palestinians, who are now about four million, have the right to live like all other people in the world. Of course I wonder why the American government is exposing its interests to danger in the Middle East through this limitless aid to Israeli aggression and Israeli occupation. Our people have the right to live like all other people in the world. This is a moral responsibility of the American people. It's an historical responsibility also of the American people. It's the way to preserve the interests of the American people in this region.

Q. Black American leaders have come forward to express their solidarity in the past. Has the voice of Black American leadership been loud enough and sympathetic enough? How can we as Black journalists take back the word to our audience, and better the relationship between Black American people and the Palestinians?

A. No doubt some Black American leaders have really given big efforts. Some of them have exposed themselves to danger, especially from the Israeli lobby in the U.S. which is protected by the FBI. Rabbi Kahane put two pistols in front of him in a press conference, and said 'I will kill Arafat with one of these pistols.' They said to me, the commander-in-chief of the Palestinian military forces, that I can't have my gun. You remember the big story about my gun? I am not Kahane. But he is protected — two pistols, and he declared that he would kill

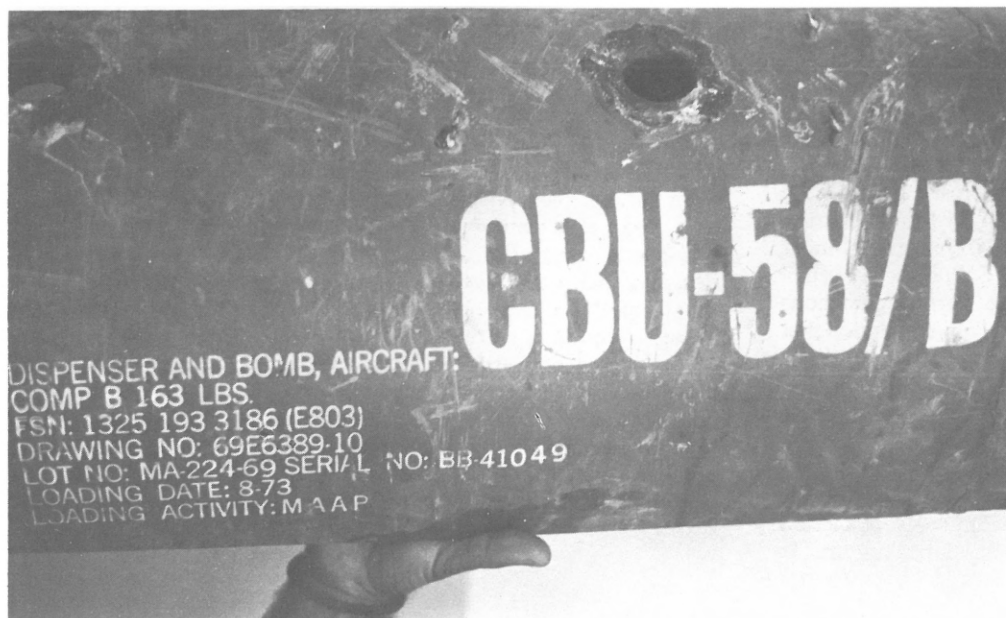
Arafat with one of these pistols. You remember the story. When I went to the United Nations in 1974, I couldn't carry my pistol, but this Kahane who is threatening to kill me with one of the pistols — he can use these pistols in the press conference. This is the biased mentality of the American administration and you can see that I am not a monster, I am a human being. But the mass media is giving this picture that we, the Palestinians, are monsters, and I am one of these monsters. Because we are defending our people, our children, not to be killed by the American armaments, by this Israeli military junta.

Q. What about the last part of that question — what can other Black Americans do in solidarity with the PLO?

A. We are in need of your help. You know the mass media is completely controlled, so that facts and realities are completely distorted. There are often lies about the whole issue of the Middle East crisis, and especially about the Palestinian cause. We are in need of your help to unmask these big lies against our just cause. And we are in need of your help, not only through mass media, but also with your people, with your families, with your friends. Our people are suffering a lot, thirty-three years, 60 percent of our people, living as refugees, homeless, stateless, without an identity card. You don't know what it means to be a refugee. And 40 percent live under Israeli occupation, facing the oppression, the organized, official Israeli terrorism with the approval of the American administration. So we need your help.

Q. Since Camp David, more than a dozen Israeli settlements have been developed in the West Bank. Could you speak about why and how that has happened?

A. It is the Israeli dream, the Zionist dream, to build an empire. It is not I who is saying it. There was a slogan on the entrance of the Knesset for more than five years that "the land of Canaan is between the Euphrates and the Nile." Their flag is two blue lines, and in between the star. These two blue lines refer to the Euphrates and the Nile. This is their dream. And still, the American administration, the American President, the American Secretary of State is saying to us that the danger is coming from the Soviet Union. They see the creation of this Israeli empire on our bodies and our aspirations and our future. But they are against the current of history and we are with the current of history, so sooner or later we will achieve our goals. What happened in the last war — the fifteen day war? We felt hell, hell. For your information, in this triangle — I call it the triangle of hell — between here, Sidon and Hasbaya, our military council calculated that during this sixth war for every citizen, there were between 24 and 26 shells, bombs, bullets or missiles. But this is our area. Many invaders came — the Tartars, the Romans, the French, the British, — but they left and we are here. The bones of our grandfathers are still in this area, and the bones of our grandsons will be in this area. We are here, and we will stay. Remember our history: under the Roman occupation we sent one Palestinian fisherman, St. Peter. He didn't occupy Rome only, he occupied the hearts of the people of Rome. Here is our heritage, our history. They can't cancel history with lies and rumours. Our roots are deep in this area.



U.S. made cluster bombs used by Israel in Lebanon



Demolition of Houses Denounced

On November 22, West Bank Palestinians and progressive Israelis demonstrated outside Prime Minister Begin's office in protest against the continued demolition of Palestinian homes, and the closure of Bir Zeit University. Mayor Hana el-Atrash of Beit Sahur, the suburb of Bethlehem where the latest demolitions occurred several days ago, demanded that the Palestinian families be allowed to rebuild their homes at government expense. Former Foreign Minister Abba Eban joined Labor Party leaders in sharply denouncing the demolitions. In a speech on Saturday, Eban stated that "the demolitions desecrated Jewish law and were a flagrant violation of the principles of civilization." In response, Mr. Begin issued a statement reminding the Labor Party of its own previous nine year record of destroying at least 1,224 Palestinian homes.

U.S. Demands Import Stamp: 'Israeli-Occupied West Bank'

The U.S. Customs Department issued a new ruling requiring that all goods imported from the occupied West Bank of Palestine now bear the stamp: "Made in Israeli-Occupied West Bank". Prior to this decision, U.S. Customs had allowed Israel to stamp Palestinian goods as "Made in Israel". According to the Jerusalem Post, New York Congressman Mario Maggi criticized the new ruling as an "anti-Israeli action" and the most direct American challenge yet to Israel's claim to the West Bank" while the newspaper stated that "the ruling was evidently of an entirely political nature".

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The Case of Ali Awad Al-Jamal

Ali Awad Al-Jamal was arrested in 1975 on suspicion of killing an Israeli secret police agent, even though there was no evidence to convict him. He was tortured by Israeli authorities and interrogated for 101 days, refusing all the time to sign a confession to the murder charge.

Since there was no evidence to convict him, Al-Jamal was made an Administrative Detainee.

Every six months Ali returns before an Administrative Detention panel which reviews his case. The panel has consistently offered Ali freedom if he agrees to go into voluntary exile. Ali refuses exile, therefore he remains in prison.

Those wishing to support Ali can send letters to Messrs. Evron and Nissim and demand that he either be given fair trial or set free.

H.E. Ephraim Evron, Embassy of Israel, 3514 International Drive, N.W., Washington D.C. 20008

H.E. Moshe Nissim, Ministry of Justice, Jerusalem, Via Israel

Propaganda Campaign to Boycott Palestinian Shops

According to *Al-Fajr* newspaper, during the past few months, the Kach movement, founded by JDL leader Meir Kahane, has been conducting a propaganda campaign, calling on local and foreign tourists to boycott Palestinian shops and to stop spending their money in the Old City of Jerusalem. Kach claims, in their most recently published leaflet, that the cash "finds its way into the pockets of those who support the PLO". Leaflets distributed by the group, and innumerable wall posters, bear the message: "BUY JEWISH". Anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian slogans are also included.

Felicia Langer Publishes Latest Report on Prison Conditions

Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer, has completed her latest report to the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights on conditions of prisons and prisoners in Occupied Palestine. The report, which has just been released in English under the title, "Torture, Cruelty, Humiliation", appeared in edited excerpts in the *Al-Fajr* English Weekly. Langer, who is Vice President of the League, appealed for publicity of the plight of Palestinian prisoners. In 1977, there was a world out-cry when the London *Sunday Times* carried an extensive report on torture in Israeli administrative jails. Since then, the systems of torture have changed, but as Felicia Langer's report reveals, systematic brutality, cruelty and humiliation (the United Nation's definition of torture) still continue.

Repression Mounting in Occupied Territories

October 27, at 2:30 a.m., the car of *Al-Fajr* Editor, Hanna Siniora, was set ablaze by unidentified persons. A passing motorist noticed the fire and quickly extinguished it before major damage was done to the car. This incident was but one of many directed at Palestinian newspapers in the Occupied Territories which have adopted a strict line of confrontation with Israeli collaborators, specifically members of the Village Leagues. The Village Leagues are small, local groups of Palestinian collaborators, hand-picked by the Israeli military authorities, in order to facilitate the implementation of the "autonomy" scheme. According to articles in *Al-Fajr*, such acts of sabotage are expected to increase markedly as Israel attempts to enforce its new "civil administration." Prime Minister Begin called for his defense ministry "to ensure" that no pro-PLO figures participate in local administrations. The Israelis have set April as their deadline for the completion of the "anti-PLO front." West Bank Palestinians are preparing for a difficult six months. As members of the Village Leagues have no support on the popular level, severe repression is believed to be the only possible way the Israelis can make it appear that these quislings are "representative." Many West Bankers see the sabotage of Hanna Siniora's car as an indication of things to come.

New Attacks on Ibrahimi Mosque

As stated in *Al-Fajr*, a group of Kiryat Arba settlers tried to break into the Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron. Mosque guards reported that members of Gush Emunim opened a hole in the southern wall of the room of the tomb of the Prophet Ibrahim, in an attempt to enter the cave below the Mosque. One of the guards was attacked during the attempt. Shiekh Sa'ad al-Din Alami, head of the Islamic Supreme Council, Hassan Tahboub, head of the Islamic Waqf, met at the site with the military governor of Hebron and the deputy military governor of the West Bank to discuss the incident and its implications. This is the third time that Kiryat Arba settlers have attempted to break into the Ibrahimi Mosque.

New Israeli Law

A new Israeli law, #517, promulgated by the Occupation Authorities, forbids Palestinians from publicly voicing support or sympathy for the PLO. It provides punishment for such acts as raising the Palestinian flag, carrying a sign, singing a Palestinian song, or making public statements in support of the PLO.



Israeli repression in West Bank

Refugees

Refugees,
Asking the heavens for a star,
Just for one day,
To send it to his stolen homeland,
To come back that very day.
Ever since I lost my land, I have never tasted
sleep.
One star volunteered and said, "Order and I
shall obey.
I am at your service anytime my beloved
child."
He told her, "My pen is my finger,
And with my palm
I shall inform them of my sorrow.
My tears are my ink; I am the author of my
soul.
Oh morning star glance at it and return.
Say Hello to the one who shares it with me.
Tell mother and father, no matter how long
the wait,

I shall return even if my soul is the cost.
Go star to Jaffa's sky, and kiss the
Al Karamah and shine over Haifa.
I trust you star not to forget Nazareth, my
dear Jesus' home
I have memories there: Bethlehem, Jeneen,
and don't forget Tabaria, Tul-Karum,
Ramoun, and my family in Qalqiliya, Beir
Zeit, Selwan, El Bira, Ariha, Deir Yassin,
the one who was injured in the battle!
I will never forget the elders and the sad
children; GENOCIDE is committed against
God's children by the hands of the atheist.

Al-Kastel — stay there for a while, and
make it shine — and Gaza everyone in
their isolation, even the child is a man.
Ramleh — and don't forget Beit Jala, Beit
Hanina the dear — I stay HUNGRY for
everything they say about it. The Valley

Beasan, I WILL NEVER FORGET THEM
AS LONG AS I LIVE! The body is far away
from them, but the soul is with them."

by Hassan Meleeci

Literature and Resources Available from the Palestine Information Office

Our Roots are Still Alive: The Story of the Palestinian People	\$5.45
The Palestinian Problem: An Annotated Bibliography of 1967-80	1.00
Toward Peace in Palestine	1.00
Zionist/Israeli Acts of Terrorism 1939-81	1.00
Palestine's Poet: Abu Salma	1.00
International Declarations, Zionism and Racism	1.00
Camp David and Palestine	1.00
Samed Handicrafts	write for details
Films on Palestine	write for details
Palestinian Posters	write for details
Tilji Menjo, Tears From Palestinian Children to God	2.00
Mona Saudi, In Time Of War: Children Testify	5.00
The Extradition of Ziad Abu Ein	1.00
Chairman Arafat's Speech at P.N.C. (In Arabic)	1.00
John Running and Sue Bennett, I'm From Palestine	2.00

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P.O. Box 57042

Washington, D.C. 20037

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